(Revised 1/3/11)

## Date: November 10, 2021

## Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

Date/Time-Stamp:
SECRETARY OF THE SENATE
FUBLIC RECORDS

Post-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete this form within 30 days of returning from travel. Submit all forms to the Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building.

2021 NOY 20 PH 2: 41

Form RE-2

In compliance with Rube reimbursed/paid for			sures with respect t	to travel expenses that have been or
Fritight of the Control of the Contr	ite Sponsor Travel Ce	rization (Form RE-1), prization (Form RE-1), prization Form with all	attachments (itiner	
Private Sponsor(s) (list	tall): The Aspen In	stitute, Inc. (Congres	ssional Program	
Fravel date(s): Oct. 1	4-Oct. 16, 2021		·	
Name of accompanying Relationship to Travele	AAAAAAAA			
	OSTS IN EMPLOYEE	EASE DUE TO THE ACC EXPENSES. (Attach addit		USE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONL ary.)
	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
⊠ Good Faith Estimate  □ Actual Amount	\$323	\$568	\$128	\$415 for private meeting/dining space, AV and conference services
				and commence services
Expenses for Accomp	anying Spouse or De Transportation	ependent Child (if application Lodging Expenses	able):  [Neal Expenses]	Other Expenses
	Expenses			(Amount & Description)
☐ Good Faith Estimate				
Actual Amount				
Provide a description necessary.): see atta		ents attended. See Senat	e Rule 35.2(c)(6).	(Attach additional pages if
		······································		
Date)	Machalla Commed r	ame of traveler)		(Signature of traveler)
TO BE COMPLETED	BY SUPERVISING	MEMBER/OFFICER:		
		es set out above in connection, lodging, and related		escribed in the <i>Employee Pre-Trave</i> ed in Rule 35.
(Date)			Signalure of Sup	pervising Senator/Officer)

Form RE-1

## EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

Pre-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete and submit this form at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date to the Select Committee on Ethics in SH-220. Incomplete and late travel submissions will not be considered or approved. This form must be typed and is available as a fillable PDF on the Committee's website at ethics.senate.gov. Retain a copy of your entire pre-travel submission for your required post-travel disclosure.

Date/Time Stamp:

Ongunal Submission

9/14/21 @ 9123 41/1

Name of Traveler:	Michael Zamore
Employing Office/Committee:	Office of Senator Jeff Merkley
Private Sponsor(s) (list all): Asp	pen Institute, Inc.
Travel date(s): October 14-16	, 2021
	nd the trip for any reason you <u>must</u> notify the Committee.
Destination(s): New York, NY	
Explain how this trip is specifical	lly connected to the traveler's official or representational duties:
Chairman of the Congressional-Ex	China relations. Senator Merkley is a member of hte Foreign Relations Committee and the kecutive Commission on China. The discussion with experts about economic, human rights, sects of U.SChina relations will enable me to better advise the Senator and support our staff who
Name of accompanying family in	nember (if any):
Relationship to Employee: [] Sp	
I certify that the information cont $1 - \sqrt{4}$	ained in this form is true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge:
(Date)	(Signature of Employee)
Secretary for the Majority, Secretary	
Senator Jeff Me	rkley hereby authorize
(Print Senator's/Officer',	
related expenses for travel to the e	ervision, to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary transportation, lodging, and event described above. I have determined that this travel is in connection with his or her officeholder, and will not create the appearance that he or she is using public office for
I have also determined that the att	endance of the employee's spouse or Aild is appropriate to assist in the representation
of the Senate. (signify "yes" by chee	cendance of the employee's spouse or Mild is appropriate to assist in the representation cking hox)
(Date) (Revised 10/19/15)	(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)
5 x x x x x x 4 x x x x x x x x x x x x	

## PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee MUST also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

•	Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors):				
	The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)				
	Description of the trip: See attached appendix				
	Dates of travel: Oct. 14-16, 2021				
	Place of travel: New York City, New York				
•	Name and title of Senate invitees: See attached appendix				
	I certify that the trip fits one of the following categories:				
	(A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal <u>and</u> do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal <u>and</u> no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.  -OR-				
	(B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain o employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (see question 9).				
	I certify that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.				
	- AND -				
	I certify that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.				
•	I certify that:				
•	The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for <i>de minimis</i> lobbyist involvement.  - AND -				
	The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign princip				

•	
	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)  I certify that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:
	<ul> <li>(A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member officer, or employee on any segment of the trip.         <ul> <li>OR -</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>□ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).</li> <li>— OR —</li> </ul>
	(C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.
10.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)  If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:
	An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I <i>certify</i> that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hourby-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.
12.	Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:
	The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is the sole sponsor of this conference and developed
	the agenda, organized the travel, planned the conference, and invited the participants.
	See attached appendix
13.	Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:
	The Aspen Institute, Inc., is a non-profit organization, and its broad mission is conducting
	nonpartisan forums and the exchange of ideas on issues impacting the U.S. and the world.
	See attached appendix
14.	Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:  AICP has conducted international and domestic conferences for members of Congress for over 35 years.
	On occasion, other policy programs of The Aspen Institute, Inc. sponsor conferences that involve
	members of Congress.

RECEIVED BY: SECRETARY OF THE SENATE

Date: November 10, 2021

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Private Sponsor Certification - Page 3 of 4

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Date: November 10, 2021

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Date: November 10,

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## Appendix

Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form New York – Aspen Institute Congressional Program

## Question 2: Description of the trip

Senior congressional staff members, along with scholars and other and experts based in the New York area will look at China and U.S. policy and its multiple layers including examining U.S. strategies while balancing security and economic interests.

## Question 5: Name and title of Senate invitees

Stephen Boyd, Legislative Assistant, Senator James Lankford
Dylan Clement, Professional Staff Member, Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Rashan Colbert, Research Director, Senator Corey Booker
Jeremy Hekhuis, Legislative Director, Senator Sherrod Brown
Chris Lynch, Chief of Staff, Senator Ben Cardin
Thomas Mancinelli, National Security Advisor, Senator Tom Mancinelli
Tommy Ngyuen, Professional Staff Member, Senate Select Intelligence Committee
Michael Schiffer, Senior Advisor, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Michael Zamore, Chief of Staff, Senator Jeff Merkley

## Question 12: Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip.

The Aspen Institute has received general support and unrestricted funds from the Democracy Fund foundation, Henry Luce foundation and Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation to support the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip and these foundations did not participate in organizing or conducting the trip.

Question 13: Briefly described the state mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission.

Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is a program of the Aspen Institute, Inc. that provides nonpartisan educational conferences and educational forums for members of Congress and senior congressional staff members. The New York conference "American China Strategy: What Really Works," will examine federal policies regarding China, the impact of the Coronavirus outbreak in China, and how that country impacts the world in terms of global competition, human rights, and international trade.

Question 15: Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips)

AICP, specifically, offers nonpartisan educational events for members of Congress and senior congressional staff members, with each event offering a leading scholar on a key domestic or international issue.

#### Question 16: Break down of transportation expenses

Each traveler: Train travel from Washington, DC to New York roundtrip: \$350

Each traveler: Ground transportation in New York roundtrip from/to train station: \$70

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# AMERICAN CHINA STRATEGY: WHAT REALLY WORKS?

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM October 14-16, 2021 New York City, New York

## THURSDAY, October 14:

12:50pm

Participants depart Washington on Acela Train #2166

3:49pm

Arrive at New York City's Pennsylvania Station (Moynihan Train Hall)

5:00pm

Estimated arrival time at the hotel

6:30 - 9:30pm

Working Dinner

## CAN AMERICA CHANGE CHINA? THE CASES FOR COOPERATION, COMPETITION, AND CONFRONTATION

The actions and example of the United States have helped catalyze, inspire, and enable many of China's broad changes throughout its modern history, especially since the 1980s. Whether the U.S. has been successful in using targeted policies to alter specific attitudes or behaviors in China is less clear.

- How should U.S.-China relations be characterized today? What's the right framework?
- What are the vectors through which the U.S. has had an impact on China?
- Has collaboration, adversity, or multilateral pressure been most successful in shifting China's priorities?
- To what degree should U.S. concerns regarding Taiwan drive relations with China?
- In 2021, can China's goals, threat assessments, and values still be influenced by American or international actions?

### AQQAformat led by:

Date: November 10, 2021

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, The Wilson Center

With responses from:

Danny Russel, Vice President, International Security and Diplomacy, Asia Society Policy Institute

#### FRIDAY, October 15:

9:00am

#### INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

This conference is organized into roundtable conversations, pre-dinner and luncheon remarks. This session will explain how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as much discussion as possible.

Charles W. Dent, Executive Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program

9:05 - 10:30am

Roundtable Discussion

BALANCING ECONOMIC AND SECURITY INTERESTS: CAN U.S.
BUSINESSES IN CHINA BE BOTH PATRIOTIC AND PROFITABLE?

World-leading corporations have been a major source of American power for over a century. In 2021, no company can lead its industry unless it is active in the world's biggest market—China. Yet selling, investing, and conducting research in China may build China's capabilities in ways that undermine American power. How policy makers and companies approach these competing objectives is a daunting challenge.

- To what degree are American economic disparities and loss of manufacturing jobs due primarily to Chinese actions, or to domestic policies and technological factors?
- Which types of American economic engagement with China pose a genuine threat to U.S. security and well-being?
- What would the costs be of government-mandated decoupling of U.S. industry from China?
- What is the role of Congress in regulating U.S. commerce in China?
- Are tariffs a successful means of promoting fair trade?

Isaac Stone Fish, CEO, Strategy Risks
Arthur Kroeber, Founding Partner, Gavekal Dragonomics
Xiaobu Lü, Professor of Political Science, Barnard College
Lingling Wei, Senior China correspondent,
The Wall Street Journal

10:30am - Noon

Roundtable Discussion

## WE ARE EXPERIENCING TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES: IMPACTS OF TECH COMPETITION ON SECURITY, COMPETITIVENESS & CONSUMERS

Technology has become the key factor in U.S.-China competition. Legislative efforts to rebuild America's tech manufacturing and policies aimed at curtailing China's access to technologies with military applications have received broad bipartisan support. American policies have provoked a strong reaction in China, which is increasing research & development investments in ways that may enable its scientists to outpace the West and which could result in parallel, mutually exclusive global tech systems.

- Can the U.S. isolate China from the global innovation system without harming that system, which relies on openness and internationalization?
- Do third countries support policies that isolate China technologically?
- Can such efforts succeed?
- Is the U.S. making the investments and training and attracting the talent needed to remain a tech superpower?
- How big a problem is Chinese intellectual property theft in 2021?

Samm Sacks, Senior Fellow, Yale Law School

Paul Tsai China Center & New America **Adam Segal**, Director, Digital and Cyberspace Program, Council on Foreign Relations **Paul Triolo**, Practice Head, Geotechnology, Eurasia Group

12:00 - 1:30pm

Working Luncheon Discussion

## THE CORONAVIRUS OUTBREAK:

## TWO YEARS AFTER WUHAN, WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

We may never know how COVID-19 originated in Wuhan, but we may be certain that China will not acknowledge fault or responsibility under any circumstances and that it will not indemnify other countries for losses. The world will be handicapped in addressing future pandemics unless American and international scientists are deeply engaged with Chinese virologists and epidemiologists, but overcoming animosity and distrust will be a huge hurdle going forward.

- What do we know about the origins of COVID-19 and what can we reasonably hope to learn?
- Were Chinese cover-ups in 2019-2020 major factors in shaping other nations' responses to the pandemic?
- What does "holding China to account" for COVID mean? Can it be done?
- How can the world best prepare for future outbreaks? From a scientific perspective is cooperation with China necessary?
- Will the Chinese government allow unfettered cooperation with American scientists on pandemic research and prevention?

Yanzhong Huang, Senior Fellow for Global Health Council on Foreign Relations

1:30 - 3:00pm

Roundtable Discussion

### HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY: RIGHTEOUSNESS OR RESULTS?

The administration has promised, as have previous administrations, to put human rights at the forefront of foreign policy. Politicians from across the political spectrum speak of a values or ideological competition with China, frequently framing it as a global contest between democratic and authoritarian governments. China (and Russia and Iran) see such pronouncements as hypocritical attempts to weaponize America's self-righteousness in defense of its failing hegemony and contend that America's own human rights problems discredit it as a defender of human rights internationally.

- What are the prospects for a human rights-centric U.S. foreign policy?
- Can the U.S. apply its principles consistently and impartially worldwide?
- Does the U.S. hold China to a different standard than other nations?
- Have American representations on human rights changed China's behavior in the past?

- What might the costs be to the U.S., global standards, and the Chinese people if the U.S. and the global community don't speak out on Chinese human rights abuses?
- Can the U.S. cooperate with China to solve common problems if China feels that it is under attack on the human rights/ideological front?

Teng Biao, Grove Human Rights Scholar, Hunter College Andrew Nathan, Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

3:00 - 4:30pm

Roundtable Discussion

## CHINA STRATEGY: WHAT REALLY WORKS?

Strategy is not concerned with the expression of American feelings toward China; its job is to bring American capabilities to bear, over time, to secure American interests. The emergence of rich, powerful, assertive China demands that American strategists and policymakers base their work on a dispassionate assessment of threats, acknowledgement of Chinese and American constraints, and an understanding of how global, domestic, and historic factors shape relations between the superpowers.

- What are America's core interests vis-à-vis China?
- What are we aiming for? Are stable relations between a prosperous, powerful U.S. and a prosperous, powerful China feasible?
- How long are contentious relations between China and the U.S. likely to last?
- What costs will Americans have to pay to compete with China effectively over that period?
- Are Americans willing and able to pay them?
- What role should Congress play in forming U.S. China policy?
- Should our goal be to manage competition, or win it?
- In what ways can the U.S. advance its goals with China in a multilateral context?

Thomas Christensen, Director, China and the World Program, Columbia University Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger institute on China and the United States, The Wilson Center Danny Russel, Vice President, International Security and Diplomacy, Asia Society Policy Institute

4:30 - 6:00pm

Individual Discussions with Scholars Thomas Christensen, Robert Daly, Arthur Kroeber, Andrew Nathan, and Danny Russel to allow congressional staff to probe policy questions more deeply in a less public venue.

6:00 - 8:30pm

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential strategies regarding the U.S.-China relationship.

00000001456 RECEIVED BY: SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Date: November 10, 202

SATURDAY October 16:

J.UUdiii

Participants depart hotel

10:03am

Participants depart New York City's Pennsylvania Station (Moynihan Train Hall) on

Train 2249

1:03pm

•

Participants arrive at Washington Union Station

RECEIVED BY: SECRETARY OF THE SENATE

Date: November 10,

Lauren Kennedy <<u>Lauren.Kennedy@aspeninstitute.org</u>> wrote:

Hi Michael, hope you're well!

On behalf of the Aspen Institute Congressional Program Executive Director, former Rep. Charlie Dent, I would like to invite you to join us for our upcoming senior congressional staff initiative, American China Strategy: What Really Works?, held in New York City, October 14-16. The agenda outline is attached for your consideration.

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program is a non-profit organization that hosts educational events for Members of Congress as well as their staff. We are convening in New York to be able to utilize scholarship resident in NYC, and will be meeting at the Asia Society. The Congressional Program will coordinate and pay for all travel, lodging, and meals. We are funded entirely by foundations, and will be happy to work with you as you submit the required ethics paperwork.

The conference will be limited to 18 senior congressional staff, so if you're interested in participating, please let us know as soon as possible to reserve your spot. Should you have any questions, don't hesitate to reach out.

Lauren

Lauren Kennedy Manager of Congressional Engagement Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Cell: 909.583.3698

Email: lauren.kennedy@aspeninstitute.org